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1607/5467

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF *GREAT-BRITAIN*;

Occaſioned by the Republication of the CRAFTSMEN:

In which the miſchievous INFLUENCE of that Courſe of Writing on our FOREIGN AFFAIRS, is evidently ſhown.

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1607/5467

AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE of *Great-Britain*, &c.

My Countrymen, and Fellow Subjects,

ALL Scenes of Life furniſh us with Proofs, how much Men are inclined to ſit in judgment on the Actions of others, becauſe ſuch Cenſures ſuppoſe ſuperior *Underſtanding*, or ſuperior *Virtue* in the Cenſurer. But when the Behaviour of *Princes* or *Stateſmen* are the Subjects of our Examination, that Self-Flattery is in its higheſt Point: For in ſo doing, we aſſume a ſort of Supe-

riority to Perſons, who, as they are allowedly of the higheſt *Dignity*, are alſo ſuppoſed to be in general Men of the greateſt *Capacity:* Which Bait alone is ſufficient to make Numbers become Volunteers in Politicks. But when 'tis alſo heightened by a Pretence to Patriotiſm, the real Vanity is oftentimes hid in the ſeeming Benevolence; we overlook the latent Deformity while 'tis covered with ſo amiable a Veil: The *Well-meaning* and *honeſt* inſenſibly become Partizans with the *Aſſuming* and *Self-ſufficient*; while much worſe Characters, *the Malicious*, *the Deſigning*, and *the Treacherous*, never fail to mingle with, and are too often ſcreened in the Crowd.

But, notwithſtanding this Inconvenience, which will conſtantly attend the Liberty of making private Judgments on publick Actions, the Priviledge of doing ſo is what moſt free Nations have contended for. And it muſt be allowed, that the Saying of a celebrated *Greek*, *That he was glad to ſee the Time when the* Corinthians *durſt call even his own Actions in queſtion*, was the Dictate of a Heart truly noble and publick: Tho', at the ſame time, 'tis certain the Characters of thoſe who were capable of uſing that Liberty

berty in the manner they did in the caſe of *Timoleon*, were as mean and odious, as his was great and amiable. Nay, Offenders of this ſort may juſtly merit yet much harſher Epithets, where the Accuſations brought are of ſuch a nature, or managed in ſuch a manner, as to be detrimental to the *Publick Weal*, as well as injurious to *private Innocence*; which very eaſily may, and too often has actually been the Caſe of ſuch private Dealers in Politicks.

Wherefore, Gentlemen, as we claim this Privilege, this glorious Privilege, of examining the Reſolutions of aſſembled *Senates*, of entring in a ſort the Cabinets of *Princes*, and mingling in their Councils, let us uſe it with the Caution and Dignity becoming ſo high a Truſt: Let not the *Vain* betray us into weak or ill-grounded Judgments, the *Malicious* into unjuſt or injurious Cenſures, nor the *Deſigning* or *Treacherous* into miſchievous Factions: For by thoſe Means this boaſted Liberty, which, if well uſed, might be at once our *Ornament and Safety*, may become both our *Shame and Deſtruction*; we ſhall furniſh foreign Nations with Means to fruſtrate our wiſeſt Counſels, while we give them juſt Title to hold

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the Folly of our popular Politicks in the higheſt Contempt.

'Tis now almoſt Five Years ſince a regular Courſe of *Weekly Cenſure* on our National Councils, has been ſet on foot, and read to the People, by the Authors of the *Craftſmen*; beſides a vaſt number of occaſional Pamphlets, to the ſame purpoſe; in which many Parts of the Adminiſtration have been attacked and condemned, but moſt particularly the Conduct of our *Foreign Affairs*; thro' the whole Thread of which theſe our *Voluuteers in Politicks* have expreſſed the higheſt Confidence in their own *Skill*, and aſſumed the faireſt Colour of *Zeal for the Publick-Good.* But if we conſider them ſtrictly and coolly as they ſtand related to that Series of Tranſactions which is ſometimes their *Subject*, and always their *Pretence*, and carefully compare their evident *Tendency*, and probable *Effects*, with that *Pretence*; we ſhall perhaps find they are much better calculated to encourage and ſtrengthen our *Enemies* Abroad, than they are either to inſtruct an ignorant *People*, or check an erring *Miniſtry* at Home, if there had been Occaſion for ſo doing: And conſequently, we ſhall have Reaſon to believe, that the

precedent part of theſe their Lucubrations have from time to time contributed to, and been in part the *Cauſes* of thoſe Evils which the *ſubſequent* ones have exclaimed at ſo loudly, and lamented ſo pathetically.

As they were firſt produced in *ſeparate Papers*, that Varniſh of Care for the Publick Weal, with which they were gloſſed, and the Attention of the Publick to the mere Fitneſs or Unfitneſs of the Meaſures in debate, may have diverted many from perceiving the dangerous Tendency of the *Debate* it ſelf in ſome Caſes, and in others may have made them overlook the *miſchievous Lights* in which thoſe Debates were artfully ſhewn by theſe *State Criticks*, for their own particular Purpoſes: But in this *collected State*, in which a formal Addreſs offers them to our ſecond Conſideration, we have a fairer Opportunity of ſeeing diſtinctly how this Courſe of *Popular Clamour* has, Step by Step, accompanied our *foreign Tranſactions*; and Leiſure to conſider, more coolly, its Effect on them: Where, without debating the *Merits* of the Meaſures controverted, which has been done ſo often already, the mere View of the *Nature* of their Oppo-

Oppoſition, of the Manner in which it was managed, and of certain Circumſtances attending it, will be ſufficient to ſhew its miſchievous Tendency; and prove, that the *Meaſures* of theſe our Volunteers in Politicks muſt certainly have been detrimental to their Country, even whether thoſe of the *Miniſtry* have been ſo or not. So *imaginary* are the Wiſdom and Uſefulneſs of their elaborate Reaſonings, and ſo *real* the Demerits of their boaſted Patriotiſm.

The *Treaty of Vienna*, in 1725, was moſt evidently the immediate Source of our ſubſequent Troubles and Difficulties, tho' the Cauſes of that Alliance have been debated. I will not therefore amuſe you, Gentlemen, with enquiring, whether that Conjunction took its riſe from any preceding Miſconduct in our Councils, as has been alledged, or was the Reſult of the Political Views and Intrigues of the Courts of *France*, *Spain*, and *Vienna*; tho' I think it may to a Demonſtration be derived from thence, eſpecially from thoſe of the two laſt. For as I do not here undertake a direct *Juſtification* of the paſt Meaſures, but an *Examination* of the Conduct of theſe Gentlemen in their Oppoſition to them, and

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an Enquiry into the probable *Effects* which that Oppoſition had on thoſe Meaſures, 'twould be going out of my preſent Province, to meddle with Points that preceded the time of their commencing Writers. Though I cann't help making here this tranſient Obſervation, That if any of thoſe *Perſons* who began, and have carried on this *Oppoſition* to the Meaſures ſubſequent to the *Treaty of Vienna*, were before it *with* the *Adminiſtration*, and did not *then* oppoſe thoſe falſe Steps which they *now* pretend brought on that Union, their Behaviour in both States is very unfortunate to their Country: For, as *Courtiers*, they ſtand convicted by their own Confeſſion of contributing antecedently to the Diſeaſe it has ſo long laboured under; and as *Popular Patriots*, they will appear to have obſtructed the intended Cure, by diminiſhing, as I ſhall evidently ſhew they have done, the Effects of the deſigned Remedies.

But to return to my principal Deſign: Whatever were the Cauſes of the *Vienna Alliance*, 'tis manifeſt that the principal and direct View of the *Britiſh* Councils ever ſince, has been to *prevent* its threaten'd ill Effects. The *Alliance of Hanover*, the *Naval Armaments*, the *Pre-*

liminary Negotiations, the *Articles* they produced, the *Congreſs of Soiſſons*, the projected *Proviſional Treaty*, the *Treaty* of *Seville*, and, laſtly, that newly concluded at *Vienna*, were ſo many progreſſive Steps, all ſubſequently tending in ſome degree to that End. I ſay, in *ſome degree* only, not becauſe much more than that might not be proved of them; but becauſe I ſtand in need of no greater a Conceſſion than this, which is too manifeſt to be deny'd, in order to make out my Charge againſt theſe Writers; ſo *obvious* are the miſchievous Effects of their Clamour; ſo different from its *real Motives* were the *Pretences* on which 'twas founded; ſo directly and deſperately have they puſhed at *diſtreſſing* and diſgracing the *Miniſtry*, and ſo little have they regarded the *Publick Good* in that Attempt; nay, ſo plainly have they acted *contrary* to it, rather than not compaſs their Ends.

Some time after the *Alliance of Hanover*, and our *Naval Armaments* had render'd the *Spaniſh* and *German* Councils in good meaſure impracticable for the preſent, and thereby left room for thoſe Negotiations towards a general Pacification which followed them, theſe Gentlemen began their Attack; not with any

ſober and *inſtructive* Enquiry into the Meaſures then lately paſſed, or ſtill in agitation; but with *direct Abuſes* of the Perſons and Characters of our *Miniſters* both at Home and Abroad; depretiating their Abilities in general, and ſetting their Characters and Tranſactions in a ridiculous Light. Now tho' this could contribute very little to the reforming any Miſtakes, yet it muſt be confeſſed 'twas laying a very fit Foundation for what will appear to have been the *principal Deſign* thro' the whole Series of Oppoſition; as 'tis well known that the Succeſs of a *Miniſter* in his Negotiations depends in moſt caſes, almoſt as much on the *Eſteem* he is ſuppoſed to be in, and the Figure he makes at *Home*, as on his own perſonal *Abilities*; and that to ſuch a degree, that the *ableſt Miniſter* will loſe his Weight and Influence *Abroad*, as ſoon as he is ſuppoſed to have loſt it at *Home*.

But they ſoon went farther than this general indiſtinct Charge; and while the Nation was thus in an armed expenſive Poſture, negotiating to prevent the miſchievous Schemes projected by the *Treaty of Vienna*, they proceeded not only to repreſent the *Publick* Part of that *Treaty*

as harmleſs, and what we had no reaſon to oppoſe; but they alſo treated the *Private* Part of it as a thing wholy fictitious, and an Impoſition of the Miniſters on the Publick.

Now when ſuch a *Party* as this appeared among us; when the *Abilities* of the Miniſters were queſtioned; when the Meaſures they had taken were *condemned* and *ridiculed*; but eſpecially, when the Deſigns of the *Vienna Treaty*, which were the Points in diſpute, were repreſented as *harmleſs*, or wholly *fictitious*; both the *Germans* and *Spaniards* might very well form Hopes that thoſe Opinions would take place here, and of courſe produce ſuch a *Change* of Hands and Councils as would leave them room to purſue their intended Scheme. And indeed what elſe could they expect, but the higheſt Current of Popular Rage, againſt Men who were ſaid to have brought the Nation already groaning under a heavy Debt, into ſo difficult and expenſive a Situation; and that not only by want of Capacity, and Miſmanagement, but by direct Falſhoods and forged Cauſes of Quarrel.

Nor did they only give our Enemies Reaſon to *expect* ſuch a Change, as a Conſequence

ſequence of theſe their Charges on the Miniſtry, they actually *promiſed* it from time to time, either directly or covertly. All *Hiſtory*, ancient and modern, was ranſacked for the Names of *diſgraced Stateſmen*; whoſe Stories were ſeverally tortur'd, and forc'd into *Parallels*, and the Miniſtry from time to time pull'd down, or executed in pretended Effigy, in an hundred different Tales, either Hiſtorical or Allegorical. Which *Parodies* their Friends and Partizans, 'tis well known, *explained* in private Converſation to all the World, both at Home and Abroad; while with the meaneſt Diſingenuity theſe Writers complained in Publick of *Innuendo's*, and forced Conſtructions put on their Performances, tho' at other times they have directly own'd the *Intention*.

And, that the *Approbation and Sanction of Parliament*, which was from time to time given to theſe Meaſures, might be no Support to the Characters or Tranſactions of our Miniſters, nor interfere with thoſe Expectations of a *Change* of Hands and Councils, which they had thus begun to raiſe Abroad, the *whole Legiſlative Body* itſelf was attacked, was charged with being corrupted by, and dependant

dependant on the Miniſtry: And, when a new one was to be called, how confidently did they promiſe a *Change* of Hands and Sentiments among them? But when that Promiſe failed, and they came into a *like Juſtification* of thoſe Councils, a like Thread of *Calumny* and Accuſation was ſet on foot againſt them alſo, and propagated with the utmoſt Diligence, while at the ſame time the Charge is continued and increaſing againſt the Miniſters.

Having gone theſe *preparatory Lengths*, they begin to call the Party they had thus raiſed, into Action in a diſtincter manner; a *formal Lecture* is ſet on foot, for ſupporting the *Spirit*, as they call it, of *Liberty*; in which, under Colour of Remarks on the Thread of *Engliſh* Hiſtory, the *Miniſtry* is afreſh repreſented as abuſing their Power and Truſt, and enterprizing on the Rights and Liberties of the People: The *Royal Family* is traduced, as ſupporting thoſe Uſurpations and Abuſes; and the whole *Legiſlature* itſelf vilified afreſh, as abetting both the one and the other, while from time to time *Examples* are produced of *Miniſters* diſgraced, of *Princes* dethroned, and *Parliaments* themſelves oppoſed, by direct Arms, and popular Inſurrections; interſperſed here and there with

with the moſt pathetick *Lamentations* over the ſinking State, as they repreſent it, of our whole *Conſtitution*, and ſtrong *Innuendo's*, that *like Circumſtances* require like Remedies.

And, laſtly, that theſe Repreſentations of the Situation of Affairs at Home might not be regarded as the Reſult of a *few* diſcontented Perſons, but the Thoughts and Apprehenſions of the *Majority*, they audaciouſly proceed to *number the People*, and (confidently aſſerting that they ſpeak in their Papers the Senſe of the *whole Nation*, except a few wretched Mercenaries and Creatures of the Miniſtry and Court,) produce Arguments for the Proof of it; which however weak they may be in themſelves, are not ill calculated both to *increaſe* their Party among the Populace at Home, who always incline to the ſtrongeſt Side, and to give ſome *colour of Truth* to their Aſſertions in *foreign Courts*; ſome of which we muſt ſuppoſe well enough inclined to believe them *true*, as 'twas conſonant to their Intereſt that they ſhould be ſo, and as they were not capable of perceiving their *Falſhood*.

This, *Gentlemen*, is a ſhort, but juſt View of the continued Expectation of a *Change*

Change of Hands and Councils, which these your pretended *Instructors* have taken care artfully to support, in an unbroken Thread, thro' the whole Series of their Weekly *Harangues*. And, as 'tis well known that Statesmen in all Times take their Measures, not only from what is their *direct Interest* in general, but from the *States* of the several Nations with which they have Transactions; and regulate their Conduct not a little according to the *Factions* that are supposed to be a-foot among them, whether *Friends*, or *Enemies*; what Expectations must the several *Courts of Europe* have entertained of a People publickly and avowedly represented from time to time in the Situations I have been describing? What! but a continued Expectation of seeing the *Promised Changes* and Revolutions take place? Especially considering 'twas in *England*, where the Influence of Factions and popular Turns of State were so frequent in all Ages.

Now tho' much the greatest part of the Means by which they supported this *Expectation*, were Discourses or Hints of such a sort as could not possibly tend in any way to the Purpose to which they made such laudable Pretence; that is, to demonstrate either to the *People*, to the *Ministers*,

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to the *Prince*, or to the *Parliament*, the pretended Miſtakes in our own *Meaſures*; yet 'twas admirably well calculated to keep the Enemy ſteady in *theirs*: And therefore, as their principal *Engine of Battery*, they uſed it accordingly, thro' the whole Courſe of their *Lucubrations*. In which Light let us take a tranſient View of its probable Effects on the *greater Steps* of that Series of Tranſactions which it accompanied, more or leſs, without Intermiſſion.

Where, in the firſt place, as it was our Buſineſs to prevent the Views and Deſigns of *Vienna* and *Spain*, and that without the Hazard and Expence of a general War, if that could be done; and as the *Treaty of Hanover*, the *Naval Armaments*, and the *Negotiations* that immediately followed them, tended manifeſtly to that End; whether thoſe Steps were the *wiſeſt* that could be thought of, or conducted in the beſt manner poſſible, or not, 'tis ſtill evident, that whatever contributed to *diminiſh* their Effects was a Publick Detriment. Now when not only the Treaty of *Hanover* was condemned as miſchievous, but that of *Vienna* repreſented as harmleſs; when the *Miniſters* that formed the one, and oppoſed the

other, were thus publickly *arraigned*, and their Diſgrace promiſed, the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid* could not but conceive Hopes that ſuch a *Change*, if effected, might give them Opportunity to purſue their Projects more at eaſe, and of courſe muſt make that Expectation their immediate *Point of View*. We need therefore go no farther to look for the Cauſes of thoſe *Delays* that preceded the firſt ſigning the *Preliminaries*, nor of thoſe chicaning and frivolous *Objections* that were ſtarted afterwards concerning them at the Court of *Spain*. Thoſe affected *Procraſtinations* gave the Party here ſo proper a Handle to continue and increaſe their Charge of Incapacity on the *Miniſters*, that 'tis indeed rather a wonder they were quitted ſo *ſoon*, than that they continued ſo *long*.

And when at laſt they were ſurmounted by the Addreſs of the Perſons thus charged with Incapacity, and the *Congreſs* was opened, the *German* and *Spaniſh* Miniſters had been weak indeed, if, without attending to the Event of ſo flattering an Expectation, they had in earneſt ſet about the Work of a *General Pacification*. If we conſider, how the old *Charge* was continued, the Articles of it more diſtinctly explained

explained and inſiſted on; how many *new ones* were ſet on foot, and to what an audacious Height the *Clamour* concerning all of them was puſhed, during this Interval; it will not appear in the leaſt ſtrange, that the *Allies of Vienna* ſhould continue ſteady to their Point, in expectation of making better Terms for themſelves, by the Increaſe of our *domeſtick Diſſentions*, than were offered either by the projected *Proviſional Treaty*, or by any other our Miniſters could offer them conſiſtently with the Good of their Country. 'Tis therefore no ways ſurprizing that our *Plenipotentiaries* found the Buſineſs of a general Peace impracticable by the Means of a *general Congreſs*; they might have continued negotiating ineffectually to this Day, while our Enemies had it in their power *by Delays* to increaſe thoſe very *Clamours*, on which they founded their Hopes. In which Situation of Affairs, no probable Means of diſconcerting the *Vienna Treaty* ſeems to have been left them, but that of offering one or other of the allied Powers ſome ſuch Terms as would engage them in a *ſeparate Intereſt*.

And when that was done by the *Treaty of Seville*, we are not to wonder

that the *Imperialiſts* were hardy enough to think of oppoſing its Execution, however unequal the Match againſt them may appear, if we conſider what uſe theſe *Writers* made of the Interval which was neceſſarily allowed them to accede to it. For after they had repreſented that *Treaty* as injurious and diſhonourable to his *Imperial Majeſty*, as dangerous and detrimental to *ourſelves*, and had done their utmoſt to make the World believe that the Body of the *Engliſh Nation* intereſted themſelves in its *Non Execution*; in a word, when this Treaty itſelf was made a new Topick of *Accuſation*, the *Imperialiſts* had been blind to their own Intereſt, if they had not taken ſo fair an Handle to *delay their Acceſſion*, and ſtand upon Terms, when in the preſent Caſe, as in all the preceding, thoſe very Delays and Demands would be carried to the Account againſt thoſe *Miniſters*, on whoſe Diſgrace they might juſtly found the Hopes of ſeeing the *Treaty of Seville* diſavowed here, and things take another Turn in their favour. Nor did theſe *Deeclaimers* baulk the Expectation: For whoever conſiders the Courſe of Papers they produced while our *Miniſters* were employed in bringing the *German Court* to Terms, will perceive how well they pro-

proportioned their *Oppoſition* to the Situation of the Negotiations it had accompanied hitherto, and do them the juſtice to own, that as *Theſe* brought the Peace of *Europe* ſtill nearer and nearer to a Point, *Thoſe* were, as it was neceſſary, very judiciouſly increaſed. As yet they had only called for, and promiſed, a Change of Hands and Councils in the *Miniſtry*; but as they had ſo long called for, and promiſed that in vain; as there was little Hopes that the *Engliſh Court* would diſcard Councils and Counſellors that had received ſo many Parliamentary Approbations; ſome *new*, ſome more *effectual Proſpect*, was abſolutely neceſſary, to keep alive the Expectations of their Partizans both at Home and Abroad. For which they accordingly pav'd the Way, in the Beginning of *Oldcaſtle*'s *Remarks* before mentioned; where, after ſome general Diſcourſes concerning the Support of the *Spirit of Liberty*, they come to produce Inſtances of *Revolts* and *Revolutions*, as Examples how that Spirit acts; in the Thread of which Inſtances, they take care, either by general or ambiguous Terms, to inſinuate ſome *Parallel* or other to almoſt every Article of Complaint or Miſconduct that appears in *Engliſh* Story; and that to ſuch a De-

gree, that the incautious Reader, who takes his Ideas of the *Preſent Times* from their former Papers, and thoſe of *older Date* from theſe their diſtorted Pictures of them, would be led to believe, that ſomething like all the Abuſes and Male-adminiſtrations to be met with in many Centuries of our Hiſtory, had been crowded into two, or rather into one ſhort *Reign:* For which Purpoſe this elaborate Thread of *double-faced Hiſtory* is evidently contrived, calling loudly as they go for a *Preſent Revolution*, under the colour of praiſing thoſe *paſt*, as the laudable Effects of that *Spirit of Liberty* they ſo pathetically recommend. All which is notoriouſly evident: To inſtance one among many, in that ever-memorable Paper on the Reign of *Richard* II. where they inſinuate diſtinctly, *like Grievances*, like Neceſſity for *Redreſs*, and like *Capacity* for doing it, and that by the *ſame Means*; that is, by Oppoſition in Arms to the *King and Parliament*. And while this Courſe of *Patriot-like Exhortation* was on foot, while they were thus declaring what was neceſſary to ſave, as they repreſented it, our ſinking *Conſtitution* and *Liberties*, that they might make the Accompliſhment of it ſeem the more feaſible, they demand in the moſt daring manner,

manner, the Means of attempting it with *Impunity*, and call ſtrenuouſly for a Repeal of the *Riot-Act*, a Reduction of the *Forces*, and a new *Parliament*; that the Populace, thus worked into a Flame by their turbulent *Remonſtrances*, and tumultuouſly aſſembled for *new Elections*, might be fit for any Purpoſes theſe their *Demagogues* ſhould propoſe, while the Government was to be thus left without either a *Civil* Power or a *military Force* ſufficient to oppoſe them. Now how little Probability ſoever there was that they ſhould obtain theſe their *Publick-ſpirited Deſires* of the Legiſlature, yet we know that the very Demands ſurprized all ſober Men at *Home*, and made them wonder what would come next: And it muſt be own'd, that they were well calculated for theſe two laudable Ends; *at Home*, if not granted, they were Foundations for new Complaint and Clamour; and *Abroad*, all Foreign Nations muſt conclude, that Men who were audacious enough to make thoſe Demands, after ſuch a Courſe of Abuſe on the Government, were thoroughly perſuaded of, and truſted in, the Strength of the Party that was to ſupport them; and of courſe might believe that the Nation was ripe for all

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theſe *Haranguers* pretended. This was the *Face* theſe Papers ſet on our Affairs at *Home*, while we were negotiating to bring the *Germans* to Terms that might prevent an *Expenſive War* Abroad: Such, theſe *Patriots* took upon themſelves to declare, were the Sentiments and Inclinations of the *whole Nation*, at this critical Juncture. How well this was calculated to increaſe Delays, and encourage exorbitant Demands in the *German Court*, let all thinking Men conſider. Surely we muſt believe their *Miniſters* wholly blind and inſenſible, if, without any Alteration in their Conduct, they c uld ſee Rebellion, almoſt without a Mask, thus ſounding the Trumpet of Sedition in our Streets, even in oppoſition to *thoſe very Meaſures* to which our Government was then demanding their Conſent. And therefore, whether we ſuppoſe any juſt Objections to the Treaty of *Seville*, or any Miſconduct in the *Negotiations* that followed it, or not; to this Cauſe, in either Caſe, we muſt neceſſarily attribute, in good part, our not obtaining their Aſſent to that Treaty *ſooner*, nor on *better Terms*, than has been lately done by the Second *Treaty of Vienna*.

Thus,

Thus, *Gentlemen*, whatever Defects theſe *Weekly Politicians* may pretend to find in any of the Meaſures hitherto taken, yet were each of thoſe Steps manifeſtly of ſuch a nature, that it was plainly more for the Publick Good, that they ſhould ſeverally produce their deſigned Ends *ſoon*, and without *Oppoſition*, than after *long Delays*, and many Obſtructions; and 'tis at the ſame time as manifeſt, that by thus artfully keeping our *Enemies* in perpetual Expectation that what was done one Day would be diſavowed the next, this Courſe of Writing has hung a continued Weight on our *own Meaſures*, and been a Spring to thoſe of *our Enemies*; has tended much more to diminiſh the *real Effects* of our Councils, than to remedy their pretended *Imperfections*; and that to ſuch a degree, that were a juſt Calculation to be made, according to apparent *Probabilities*, perhaps the better part of thoſe Delays, and conſequently of that *Expence* which they ſo conſtantly exclaimed at, would appear to have riſen from this their own Treatment of our *Foreign Tranſactions*, and from the *Repreſentations* they have made of the *Opinions and Inclinations* of the People concerning them. They have from time to time charged the *Miniſtry* with being driven to *Annual Treaties*

and *Expedients*, while like the Fellow that burnt the *Temple of Diana*, they have thus ſtuck at nothing that could contribute to the fulfilling their own or their Friends *Prophecies*. So that their very facetious Conceits, concerning the *Genealogy* of ſome late Treaties, may with Truth be retorted; and it may with Juſtice be ſaid, that theſe their *applauded Lucubrations* begat in great part the *Obſtinacy* of the *Germans* and *Spaniards*, which begat the *Delays* and *Difficulties* attending the *Preliminaries*, which begat the ſlow and ineffectual Proceedings of the *Congreſs*, which begat the Neceſſity for the *Treaty of Seville*, which begat the Neceſſity for the *Treaty of Vienna*. Such, and ſo numerous, are the *real* Progeny of theſe *pretended* Fathers of their Country, which, like miſbegotten Children, they would lay from time to time at other People's Doors.

Thus, *Gentlemen*, ſtands the Account between theſe our Publick Inſtructors and the Nation, for the time *paſt*: Let us now conſider what we may expect for the *future*. Where, though the *Treaty of Vienna*, lately concluded, has at laſt taken off that Oppoſition at the *German Court* which their own Writings were ſo well contrived to encourage, yet it would not be ſtrange if the *General*

Peace

Peace ſhould ſtill meet with Delays and Obſtructions. While the ſame *Party* is on foot, every Nation with whom we are at Odds may juſtly entertain Hopes of making their Advantage of it. The *Lengths* to which the Oppoſition has been carried, the *Terms* in which it has been expreſſed, have threatened direct *Revolt* and *Rebellion*; and the Leaders of it, in their *Dedication* of their Works to ourſelves, promiſe to perſiſt in the *ſame Courſe*, till the Point is gained: And in a Pamphlet now before me, declare openly a deſperate Combination, not only to inſiſt on the *Deſtruction* of the Perſons intruſted by our *Prince* with the Management of our moſt weighty Concerns, but on a Change of thoſe *Meaſures* which he himſelf approves, among which is the *preſent Treaty*. Now how much ſo ever theſe *Rhodomantado's* may betray the Folly and Rage of their Authors to thinking Men at Home, yet *Foreigners*, who are not well enough acquainted with our domeſtick Situation, to diſcover their Weakneſs, may well be alarmed, and lay no little Streſs on them, in conjunction with the preceding Thread of *Clamour*; all now avowed by Men of ſome Figure among us. It will not therefore be ſtrange, if *thoſe* who would acquieſce in its Execution ſhould fear its

Non-execution, and *thoſe* who are intereſted againſt it ſhould be encouraged to oppoſe it. Hence we need not wonder at the *Conditional Terms* of the *Spaniſh* Acceſſion, nor at their continued Preparations before *Gibraltar*, any more than at the *French* Machinations to prevent it: The *firſt* act in the Situation of Perſons who fear it may be diſavowed here, by the Prevalence of this *Bluſtering Party*; and the *latter* as Men who repoſe Hopes in that Diſavowal. In a word, My Countrymen, by theſe, and ſuch like Means, every Nation in *Europe* may be encouraged to uſe us ill: The *Germans*, the *Spaniards*, and the *French*, may all in their turns entertain Hopes of ſeeing us in a Flame at Home, if by continuing ſtiff in their ſeveral Points, they give theſe *Commentators* an Opportunity of going on to inflame the *Populace* as they do againſt every Part of the *Government*. Nor would any Change produce a *Remedy*. *Miniſtries* might be ſhifted, and *Meaſures* changed, till we became the Shittle-cocks of *Europe*, but the *Evil* would remain, while every deſperate Leader of a *Faction*, or every *Combination* of ſuch Leaders, would by the ſame Means have it in their Power to diſconcert the wiſeſt Meaſures of the *ableſt Miniſters*, and the Nation at laſt be reduced

to

to the Neceſſity of *Cutting through with their Swords*, at a vaſt Expence and Hazard, every trifling Diſpute, which might otherwiſe be eaſily and ſafely got over by Treaty.

This is a *ſlight Sketch* of the Merits of our Popular *Monitors*; this the apparent *Tendency* of the greateſt part of their indefatigable *Labours*; and theſe we muſt conſequently conclude have been their laudable Effects *hitherto*, and will be their Effects *hereafter*, unleſs we ſuppoſe the ſeveral Courts with whom we have Affairs, do, contrary to all the known Rules of Policy, ſhut their Eyes to what is in agitation among their *Enemies*. And what, my Countrymen, have they to offer us in compenſation for ſuch evidently miſchievous Conſequences attending their Writings? Will the few *general* Diſcourſes on the Nature of *Government*, ſcattered here and there among their Libels, compenſate the *National Damage*, tho' they were allowed to be never ſo juſt? Or tho' we ſhould throw in thoſe weighty Rhetorical Articles, their common-place Harangues againſt *weak* or *wicked Miniſters*, and their pathetick Exhortations to the Support of *National Liberty* and a *Publick Spirit*; would thoſe balance the Account? Surely no. Upon a juſt Com-

putation, they would be found to be the deareſt publick Teachers of *Policy*, and Preachers of *Civil Morality*, that ever opened School. Or, in defect of theſe, and to omit none of their Perfections, will their offered *Schemes* for preſent Action make good the Damage? On the contrary, thoſe, if they were prudent and practicable, will be found to make an Article on the wrong ſide of the Account. Their ſo publiſhing them, was, inſtead of a *Benefit*, a National *Detriment*; as ſuch Publication, by fore-arming the Enemy, tended to make their Execution leſs practicable, and therefore robbed the *Miniſters*, and conſequently their *Country*, in ſome degree, of thoſe Reſources, if they were neceſſary. And if neither their *general Doctrines*, nor *particular Schemes*, can make *Us* amends, or furniſh *Them* with a Juſtification, how much leſs will the *general Plea*, That ſuch Oppoſition, right or wrong, tends to keep Governments in order, and put Miniſters on their Guard, do ſo: Which, however wiſely and prettily it may ſound in general, nay, tho' it may have ſome Truth, with reſpect to Points of *internal Policy*, that concern the Conſtitution and our Liberties at Home, where our Diviſions give no *Foreign Enemies* an Advantage over us, yet, in the preſent Caſe,

Caſe, in theſe Points of *external Policy*, 'tis errant Quackery in Politicks; 'tis giving the Nation a ſtrong Doſe of Phyſick at preſent, leſt it ſhould want it hereafter.

To conclude, *Gentlemen:* This Diſcourſe is ſwelling beyond its intended Bulk. Notwithſtanding the ſpecious Pretexts with which their Deſign has been coloured, if we view its whole Tendency with due care, the *Mask* will fall off, and the naked Face of *Faction* appear in its utmoſt Deformity, even with Features deſperately ſwelling almoſt to *Rebellion:* Which, regardleſs of paſt ill Conſequences or future Miſchief, has hitherto been, and ſtill is, puſhing *private* Deſigns, under colour of *Publick Good*; and that in the Aſylum, and under the Sanction of that *Paladium* of all our other Liberties, *the Liberty of the Preſs.* An Abuſe, which, as it is chiefly in ourſelves to countenance or diſcourage, it is chiefly in ourſelves to determine, whether we will, by ſuch Encouragement, let that which ſhould be our *Safeguard*, be converted into an Engine for our *Deſtruction*; as we ſhould do in effect, if we continue by popular Approbation to abet a Courſe of Writing, which, when viewed in its proper Light, will be a laſting Monument of the *Vanity*, *Ambition*, and *implacable Malice*, of its Authors; who, rather than not ruin

one Man, have evidently done their utmoſt to defeat the Councils, and diſtreſs the Affairs of their *own Country*; that Country, whoſe *Intereſts* they pretended to eſpouſe, and whoſe *Difficulties* they Crocodile-like wept over. The miſchievous Tendency of whoſe Behaviour, is of ſo *covert*, and yet ſo *effectual* a nature, that I think I may aſſert, that had they tranſported their *Eſtates* to the Exchequers, and their *Perſons* to the Councils and Armies of our *Enemies*, they would, perhaps, have been leſs detrimental to the Nation in that State of *direct Hoſtility*, than in this of *ſeeming Patriotiſm*; even tho' they were *richer* than ſome of them are known to be, and more *judicious* than they would all be thought. So much leſs dangerous is an *open Enemy* than a *falſe Friend*. And in *this Light*, I doubt not, they will be viewed by the *whole Nation*, when hereafter, ſome Hand equal to the Task, ſhall ſhew the Thread of theſe Tranſactions to Times in which our preſent Diviſions will be no more; when the *particular Malice* that ariſes from Diſappointment, or aims at Revenge, no longer ſpeaks to, or is, at leaſt, no longer heard by, the *general Emulation* that always waits on uncommon Merit, Proſperity, or Advancement.

THE END.

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